000 and religion have so much in common and are so much dependent upon each other for mutual development that there is no clearcut borderline between them. But, in the two outermost limits of their common domain, there should be a well-demarcated area for either magic or religion. Otherwise, [93] we would have no way of understanding or explaining the many symbolic acts of a primitive culture.

771 In Lolo society, there are two different concepts of the physical world. The first involves the supernatural power of inanimate objects, such as stones, silver, clothes, ornaments, and others, all possessed by spirits — quite similar to the Polynesian concept of mana. The other concept involves supernatural beings that belong to animate, personified objects, such as mountain spirits and ghosts of the deceased. These two types of concepts entail different results in the process of religious development. Man's concept of the universe is derived from two different sets of analogies. The first set, which is related to the formation of supernatural power, develops from the observation of special physical traits, such as color, shape, weight, durability, and so forth, into the belief in animatism or mana. The other set of analogies develops from the observation of men's wills, inclinations, and objectives into the belief in animism or that of the spirit.

778 There are many evidences of the belief in animatism in Lolo society. As mentioned in the foregoing chapter, the use of protective charms, such as lamb's wool, tiger's whiskers, fingernails, and hair, to safeguard the fighters on the battlefield during clan feuds points to a belief in animatism. In a [768] Lolo family, personal effects left behind by the ancestors, such as clothes, ornaments, silver, utensils, and others, all become, after a period of time, chi-lo, which nobody dare disturb lest something happen to endanger the family. Chi-lo is an animatistic concept similar to mana, and it is a mistake to consider the Lolo's chi-lo as a family god. For example, the Chiang family near Huang-lang, which was a Sinicized Lolo family, had inherited from its ancestors three boxes: a box of silver, one of clothes, and one of jewelry and ornaments. One day, a niece of the Chiang family came back to visit her uncle. By accident she came upon these boxes, opened them, and took out the clothes and jewels to try on. The next day everything in the boxes had disappeared, the chi-lo having fled. Since then the Chiang family declined. So, the chi-lo of the Lolo family is a spirit, mysterious and forbidden to the touch; once disturbed, the chi-lo would run away, which would spell disaster for the family. The belief in the chi-lo, however,

778 is limited to the mysterious quality or the supernatural power of the object without involving any concept of ghosts and spirits.

[94] The belief in the souls, spirits, and ghosts is even 775 more popular and universal in Lolo society. All kinds of sick- 753 ness, death, and misfortune are due to the evil influence of the ghosts. Their names are many: ghosts of persons hanged, ghosts of dysentery, ghosts of persons murdered, su-nieh ghosts, ghosts of strangers, monkey ghosts, headache ghosts, and countless others. All ghosts and evil spirits can cause evil and bring disturbance and harm to human beings. So the Lolo are particularly afraid of the ghosts and have numerous rituals to control them. The spirits are not consistent in their good or bad behavior. Good spirits protect and aid the living, whereas bad spirits could change into ghosts to plague them. 776 After death, family ancestors change into spirits following a soul-delivery ceremony. The original ancestor of the pi-mu is also a spirit who can be invoked to descend to earth. The [782] Lolo do not make offerings to images or worship them. They have no concept of monotheism. All natural phenomena, such as sky, earth, sun, and moon, have spirits, but since these have little bearing on daily life, no ritual for their worship has evolved. The mountain spirit, called mi-hsi in the Lolo language, is comparatively the most important because it controls rain and is always invoked during rain-praying. Different mountains have different spirits who are not interrelated. The [821] Lolo belief in the mountain spirit as an agent of rain control is diametrically opposed to the Chinese belief in the dragon king as the controller of rain. This merely indicates that religious ideas are influenced by the natural environment. The Lolo who live on high mountain tops have observed that the clouds, fog, and rain all descend from the peaks.

Animatism and animism co-exist in Lolo society and 771 together constitute their religious thought. However, they differ in practical operation. On the one hand, magic power relies upon technical devices for its practice, and on the other the individual communicates with the supernatural world through a spiritualistic medium. The Lolo pi-mu is concurrent- 791 ly a chief priest and a magician. When he recites the scrip- 793 ture to communicate with spirits and when he officiates at 756 sacrificial ceremonies, he assumes the position of a priest and spiritual medium; when he imprecates to subdue ghosts and when he performs ceremonies to cure sickness, he becomes a magician. Actually, the main duty of a Lolo pi-mu is none other than the practice of magic.

764 up this job. The corpse, always cremated in the early morning before sunrise, is attended by family relatives who keep watch of the fire. The corpse-watchers have to be odd in number, either seven or nine. After the ox and sheep have been cooked in the house, they are carried to the place of cremation, where all the people assemble and eat together, drinking to their full capacity. The ashes of the corpse are sometimes buried underground and sometimes scattered in the forest where there is no trace of living beings. After cremation the whole family stays outside the house and only one person can remain inside to take the pi-mu around. The door is then closed as the latter performs magic with a sieve to sift out the soul of the dead and to purify the household.

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At the time of cremation, the Lolo invite the pi-mu to make a spirit tablet of the dead. This is almost like the first stage of ancestor worship. The spirit tablet is made from a wooden stick about five inches long and split into two parts with a small hollow made in the inner side of each of them. This is called the spirit house. Next, the pi-mu takes from the burial ground a small piece of bamboo, preferably a young shoot, and cuts it into a small slip. With wool sheared in March, the slip is bound with cotton thread — nine rounds for a man and seven for a woman. This bundle represents the soul and is placed inside the spirit house. Then the two pieces of split wood are put together — so that the spirit being is laid inside the hole never to be seen again — and bound on the upper outside with hemp twine, again seven rounds for a woman and nine for a man, the whole wrapped in a white cotton cloth. After the pi-mu has performed magic to remove impurities, it becomes a spirit tablet and is placed on a wooden board on the wall behind the kitchen stove. At New Year festivals and at the time of exorcism for sickness, the pi-mu performs magic and kills victims to sacrifice to the spirit, entertaining it with wine and food.

778 769 [782]

Unlike the Han-Chinese who make offerings to ancestral tablets and worship them for generations, the Lolo are permitted to remove their spirit tablets after a soul-delivery ceremony. The aim of this ceremony is to release the souls of the ancestors so that they can enter the other world. The ceremony, generally very solemn, is performed either singly by one family or [101] through the combined efforts of several families, the elaborateness or simplicity of the ritual depending upon the economic ability of the family or the clan. It is usually held a year, sometimes three or five years, after the death of their ancestor. There are cases of the ceremony

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796 being postponed ten or more years, even several decades, be-
769 fore it is held.

[614] The ceremony for delivering the soul is an occasion
796 for the clan and kin members to get together; on the one side
769 it has a rigid ritual and on the other it is a group gathering
● 778 for feasting and drinking, where one enjoys social life to the fullest. The complete ritual consists of prayers to the twelve heavenly courts, lasting about ten or more days and involving expenses greater than all other activities. Thus, only a
[556] wealthy family can afford such an affair. Usually the ceremony covers only one or two courts or several courts. It is performed by the pi-mu for a number of purposes, such as removing impurities, returning the spirits to their proper places, invoking peace and blessings on the descendants, and praying for the abundance of harvests. Finally, there is also the function of sending off the ancestral spirits. This usually involves the reopening of the spirit tablet of the parents; the making of a new wooden stick as a spirit house; and the placing together of the parents' old spirit beings in the spirit house of the new wooden stick, with the father's spirit on the top and the mother's spirit at the bottom. This is also an example of imitative magic. Later they put the two halves of the wooden stick together, binding them at both ends with a white cloth. When it is time to send off the spirits, the stick is carried on the back by the son, the pi-mu leading the way, to a rocky cave in the high mountains where there is no trace of human life. It is said that this is the meeting place of the clan's ancestral spirits. During all this time, the pi-mu recites the scripture, pointing the way for the spirits to the Ta-po Ho — the other world in Lolo belief. Once inside the mountain cave, three to five clan members begin to untie the newly made wooden stick and re-examine the ancestral tablets to make sure that there is nothing wrong before the stick is tied together again and left inside the mountain cave.
[782] Then they partake of a half of a pig's brain, which they brought with them, and place the skull filled with wine in front of the spirit tablets as an offering. After this they return home and no other ceremony for worship is held again.

796 On the one hand, the funeral ceremony facilitates the
769 safe passage of ancestral spirits to the other world through ritual practices based on the belief in ghosts and spirits; on the other hand, by getting together and performing ceremonies under tense emotional conditions, it seeks to enable the living persons to go through the crisis and return gradually to their normal daily life, thereby maintaining the equilibrium of human society.

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778 If we want to be further clarified on this point we may examine the following account of their "bamboo worship" custom derived from this story.

> Their (White Lolo) village is always characterized by a vacant lot of about twenty feet square, on which is planted a cluster of fragrant bamboo in the center. At the foot of the bamboo is laid a circle of huge rocks, each about five feet in diameter. Outside the rocks is erected a bamboo fence of more than ten feet in height. At ordinary times no one is allowed to cut the fence or otherwise damage it. But on the twenty-fourth day of the fourth moon each year according to the lunar calendar they remove the bamboo fence and erect a platform in front of the fragrant bamboo for a great sacrificial ritual. .....This cluster of divine bamboo they call "Me Wa dcc /?/", meaning fragrant bamboo incense. The vacant lot on which the bamboo is planted is known as "di ka", or the field of cultivation. They believe that the flourishing and decline of the bamboo indicate like tendencies in their tribe. Therefore, with a view to assuring the prosperity of their tribe, they constantly worship the bamboo with a devout heart and communicate with "her" through elaborate sacrificial rituals and symbolic contacts with the spiritual media. They appeal to her and promote her in order to secure the prosperity of their descendants. If not, she may wither, and danger and catastrophe will befall them and their tribe will decline and even perish. (3)

3. Same as note 1.

Comparing this account of bamboo worship by the White Lolo with the worship of the clan spirit by the Lolo of Hsü-chia-tu in Ch'êng-chiang, we can see that the latter's clan spirit on the bamboo mountain and the former's fragrant bamboo in the field of cultivation as well as the bamboo mountain and the field of cultivation themselves /36/ are all one and the same thing. 771 778

To summarize the foregoing observations it may be said that the Lolo regard the bamboo as having a blood relationship with them and even as their ancestor. Thus, it is clear why the Lolo in Ch'êng-chiang regard the "golden bamboo" as their progenitor, the bamboo stick as the retreat of their ancestral spirits, and the six bamboo sticks as their ancestors of three immediate generations. The essential point is that the bamboo represents their origin of birth as well as their destination after death. Where one comes from, there one goes; and this symbolic principle is identical with our belief that from earth man was moulded and to earth he must return after death. 771 769

IV. The Pine Grandfather

Having discussed the golden bamboo ancestor, let us now describe the tree ancestor. The trees here referred to are the pine and the pear. Generally speaking, they worship the tree ancestor even more intensely than the bamboo. There are numerous traces of the worship of the former, which can be analysed briefly as follows.

(1) The pine tree is regarded as their common forebear because they believe that there is a blood relationship between them and this tree. The pine that has been acknowledged as their original ancestor is called "a tsa po", which tallies with the "a tsa" in the creation

771 legend of the bamboo ancestor described previ-
769 ously.[1] It is similar to the idea of regarding an animal or plant species as the totemic being of a race or tribe and the belief in the blood relationship between these species and the constituent members of the tribe. As to the pear tree which is often connected with the pine and similarly worshipped, it is supposed that it has certain affinity with that pear tree under which the girl slept in the story of "a tsa".

778 (2) To the left of their village there is a
796 forest called min-chih, (people's area), in
769 which there are a few tall pine and pear trees. These are regarded as the spirits of "a tsa po". The third day of the third moon every year the elders of the village would lead all the males of the village over twelve years old to offer sacrifices to these gods. The participants each break a branch of pine or pear tree and plant it at the foot of the large pine tree. During the sacrificial ceremony girls over twelve years old are barred from witnessing it. The pine and the pear trees in the vicinity of the "people's area" are out of bounds, and those violating their sanctity and breaking even a small branch are subject to severe punishment. From this we may gather that they impart a spiritual meaning to the pine and pear trees in the "people's area".

771 (3) They call the pine ancestor "a tsa po";
769 they also call themselves in the Lolo language "a tsa po". From this similarity in the name of their tribe and that of their pine ancestor, it may be supposed that they use the pine tree as their tribal name.

Summarizing the above three points, it may be said that their custom of worshipping the pine tree is closely related to totemism.

824 Aside from the worship of plants which can
771 be traced to totemism handed down from ancient

[1] [see category 116, pp. 13-15. -- Analyst]

5: Pollard M-5 (no date) 1921 AE4 Lolo AE4

played as the jews' harp is played. The principle of the instrument is just the same as that of the jews' harp, and the noise is similar.

Logs were frequently brought in to keep the fire burning well. These logs had snow on them when they reached the fire.

Around the fire were not only travellers, there were one or two also who were a bit of philosopher in addition to the rest. One such told me that God originally sent nine men to create the heavens and eight to make the earth. Man originally came from heaven, and has three souls, one of which at death returns to heaven, another goes with the ashes to the grave, and the third into Hades. This last soul is called by the wizards, and put into the little baskets which are worshipped in the corners of the homes. The people have some idea of transmigration, saying that bad men may become anim. ls but animals never become men. I asked whether the sheep which had been killed for our suppers might not possibly have been one of the Lai-lai clan or the Sha-ma clan, two clans at enmity with the Nhe clan, in one of whose houses we were then staying. This idea tickled the crowd around the fire immensely, but the philosopher destroyed the fun by assuring us that the bad men who turned into animals were all eaten by wild beasts. So after all, if the joke were destroyed, we were enabled to enjoy our mutton without any cannibal suggestions.

At night the magic-lantern was a great success. The great interest taken in it by the girl with the coral beads has been described in Chapter I. The slides shown each night were a mixed lot. In addition to a number of sacred slides there were several photos and views of places. The most popular slide of all was one of my wife's sister, and I was

The Lolo use extremely simple implements and have hardly any furniture in their rooms. Wooden objects such as beds, chairs, tables and stools are nonexistent in the I region. The only furniture--generally found in the home of the well-to-do Heh-I--consists of one or two wooden cupboards, in which are kept containers for ch'ao-mien, wooden bowls used at meals, and other articles of daily use, as well as things which they regard as family heirloom (such as certificates of award given by the government.) Close to the back wall of the center room there is a huo-k'ang /stove/, which is generally square and sometimes slightly oblong, though there are also round-shaped ones. Three stones forming a triangle and set within the huo-k'ang constitute what is called kuo-chuang, upon which a large iron pot is placed. The Lolo and the Tibetans use the same equipment for their kuo-chuang, but while the latter use an iron tripod to support the pot, the former use three pieces of stone, irregular in size in the ordinary I family but regular and attractively carved with designs and ornaments in the family of the well-to-do Heh-I. Furthermore, the Tibetans use their pot only for boiling tea to drink with tsamba, whereas the Lolo use it to cook all their food, except ch'ao-mien which is edible when mixed with unboiled water. The I never drink tea or boiled water, but only unboiled water whenever thirsty. This practice is most unsanitary. /107/ At any rate, in the I family, the kuo-chuang is regarded as something sacred. Should one ignore this fact and step across the kuo-chuang in a moment of carelessness or perhaps hang wet stockings above it to dry, he would cause serious protest or even violence. Likewise, one must not violate the wooden cupboards placed against the back wall of the room.

The I are more advanced than the Tibetans in that they eat cooked food and have a more complete set of eating utensils. At least in this aspect of their living, they have been influenced by the Chinese. Aside from bowls they also use chopsticks and ma-shih-tzu (little round wooden spoons with long handles, used for mixing soup). They have an especially large iron pot, with a diameter of about three feet, which is used for cooking and placed over the kuo-chuang. It is bought from the Chinese for the I do not know how to smelt iron. They burn firewood in the huo-k'ang. But like the Chinese they know only how to cut down the forest, but not how to preserve and cultivate it. Since the large trees have already been felled in most of the areas, they now have to resort to picking up odd pieces of dried branches to burn as brushwood. Fuel supply has become a serious problem in the sparsely populated Liang-shan.

[180 cont.]

583 off his fiancée, but he must later pay a double dowry.

595 The "Lolo" generally have only a single wife.

684 Adultery is punished by death.

764 The dead "Lolo" is dressed in his finest clothes and then immediately afterwards placed on his bier. The coffin is kept for three days in the house in which the death took place. The burial is done the fourth day. Only the relatives take part in this ceremony. A fire is lighted on the grave as soon as the trench is [181] filled in. This fire is cared for by the relatives for nine days, if the deceased is a man, eight days for a woman, six days for a child. The grave then is abandoned and no one pays any further attention to it.

184 764 Some "Lolo" tribes follow slightly different customs. Among the "K'an-t'éou-lolo" ("Lolo" head-cutters), the corpses are dug up at the end of three years. The head is removed from the body and placed in a little wooden chest, which is placed in full view on a neighboring rock. (Photo 348, Plate 44, shows rocks which the inhabitants of the region call "rocks of the tombs," on which are still found heads of "K'an-t'éou-lolo" coming from a hamlet of this tribe which moved away thirty years before.) (Southwest of Pha-Long.)

Other tribes bury their dead without coffins and place upon the corpse a long, hollow, vertical piece of bamboo which sticks out on top of the mound. The relatives from time to time verify the state of decomposition of the corpse, by coming and smelling the emanations at the upper end of the bamboo. When there is no further odor, the corpse is dug up, and the bones are placed in a small chest, which is exposed as has been described above for the "K'an-t'éou."

771 177 The "Lolo" of Tonkin, properly speaking, have neither religion nor peculiar beliefs. They have adopted those of their nearest neighbors, either "Méo," "Man," or "Thai." They believe in the evil spirits but do not fear them to the same extent as do the "Thai."

769 778 They observe ancestral worship strictly enough. On the ancestral altar the dead are represented in the following manner: branches of orchids, cut to a length of seven knots for a man and

[181 cont.]

769 nine knots for a woman, serve as armatures for figurines made from
● 778 tufts of paper. These figurines, which are of a height of about ten centimeters, are fastened to the partition which forms the ancestral altar.

793 The "Lolo" have priests-sorcerers who pass down the traditions by word of mouth.

181 The "Lolo" are of a rather happy disposition, and like the "Meo"
53 they neglect no opportunity for feasting. They perform singing dances, the boys on one side, and the girls on the other. These dances are accompanied by the musical instruments of which we have spoken above.

[182] The "F'ou-la"

101 The "F'ou-la" form a tribe of the "Lolo" group which is rep-
[131] resented in Tonkin by only a hundred people, spread in small hamlets the length of the frontier, in the regions of Hoang-Su-Phi, Muong-khuong, and Baxat.

The "Thai" call them the "P'ou-la."

In their dialect, the "F'ou-la" call themselves by the name of "Peu-pa."

101 Like the other "Lolo," the "F'ou-la" come from the provinces
582 of the south of China and are extremely mixed with the other tribes
[167] of the frontier zone, but they also preserve their original characters by avoiding all intermarriage with their neighbors. They maintain their special type as described above with reference to the "Lolo."
[181] They are timid and gentle, which constitutes a weakness in relation to the neighboring tribes, who are more energetic.

197 The vocabulary of the "F'ou-la" differs noticeably from that of the "Lolo," but evidently is related to the dialects of the group; the sentence structure is identical with that of the "Lolo."

212 They are not acquainted with any writing; they employ Chi-
198 nese characters. Their language of commerce is the "kouan-hoa."

342 The "F'ou-la" live in cabins of two principal models:
231 1. Cabins on piles, of the type used among the "Thai," but consisting of a flooring raised only a very little above the ground